/146 cont./

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/footnote 12 cont./ Tukano." The Tukano will also excuse himself: "I don't know." "But you are Tukano." -- "But those from such-and-such a place pronounce it better than I do."

/147/ He is, as a rule, reserved; he does not like to divulge his illnesses, nor his legends and customs. On this point the men are even more reserved than the women, from whom one can obtain information with less difficulty, with the promise of presents.

8) Volubility and inconstancy.

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If we except the prescriptions of the tribal laws, to which, it seems, he finds himself perfectly and passively adapted, as for the rest the Indian enjoys great autonomy. From childhood, especially for those of the male sex, he can follow his fancy. Great tenacity of will then is not to be expected in the native. One can not count on him for a job always the same, for example, to make daily meteorological observations or the connection of an electrical generator. They are very voluble, both the men and the women. They do not adapt to doing the same job indefinitely, although what they themselves choose is more acceptable to them. One can not, then, strictly speak of a profession of carpenter, tailor, sawyer, etc. in referring to some Indian. He might have some knowledge or practice concerning such a trade. But, when under the stimulus of an interest in acquiring some object he is disposed to work, not only is it a matter of indifference to him if he sits down at a sewing machine, serves as a sailor or oarsman, or does any other service, but he himself will ask to leave a job and go to another, quite different one.

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10) Patience.

He is a man of extreme patience. How useful it would be if this quality of his could be channeled into so many sectors of our civilization! It is documented by those jobs which require not only hours, but sometimes days, months, or years of work and attention, such as the preparation of the tucum and of a net, the making of a canoe with the stone ax and fire, or to pierce regularly a sarabatana /blowgun/ or a stone of amorphous quartz (see VII -- 3, d (2)) with the help of a stick and very fine sand. In a canoe he endures a rain for hours on end, or a scorching sun the whole day, without a word of complaint.

We never saw him fight (except when already drunk) or show impatience and protest against another Indian, although the occasions for it were superabundant. For example, to complain about a companion, because his indolence forces him to work harder. If he walks bent under a heavy load, and another Indian is blocking his way, he does not yell for him to move, but will patiently go around, taking a longer route.

11) Shyness.

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Before the civilized, whose superiority he recognizes and feels, he always shows docility. Never an open revolt; although he not infrequently fails to do what he told him to do. Rare are the episodes of joining together for a reprisal (14).

> 14. Some few episodes are recalled, but all of them were when the civilized violated some tribal custom or practiced true injustices or cruelty...

It is to be noted that, if the civilized asks him for a favor, he will perhaps answer with "I do not want to." If he is ordered in a categorical way, however, the Indian obeys and even cheerfully. Positive orders are more in accord with his spirit.

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/footnote 15 cont./ him one of these Béxkana /sic/ dead or alive. Some came to affirm that they had indeed seen them, one would go so far as to say that he had killed several of them, but he could not have any corpse, because their companions took their dead...

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*[192]

His fear of poisonings or spells (dohasé) and of the spirits (wãx'tʏ́a) is especially great. Out of fear of these, for any reason, he will go at night into the forest.

12) Carelessness.

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Perhaps the relative ease with which they get or manufacture whatever they need makes them careless of things and tools, especially those of the civilized, letting them become damaged or lost, without paying any attention to their value or necessity. Many times the traveler must draw the attention of the Indian in order for him not to lose, break, or render useless an implement. There is, however, one thing which they are tenderly zealous about: the ornaments for the dances, kept in a case ad hoc, in a safe place. Since they consider clothing and other attire an ornament, they ordinarily take good care of them. And one notices some carelessness only in those who can easily get other clothes from the civilized.

13) Profit and gain.

Some of his faults attract the attention of the civilized. He is extraordinarily selfish (16).

16. Even in the service of God they want to know whether he will give them gifts, if he will give feasts, ribbons, and garments. A little girl once asked the Directress if there are fish in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Directress said no. The child added at once: "Then I don't want to go there."

/161 cont./

• 157 829 20) Pride.

Their pride is equivalent to their vanity. They never recognize their own mistake. At the least word that sounds to them like a scolding, they lock themselves up in muteness; and the child will act badly out of spite. There are cited cases in which, at a simple scolding by the civilized, they left and spent years without reappearing.

They are excessively pleased over praise; it is the means that the educators use in order to stimulate them to study and to work. If by chance the child is corrected at school because he made a mistake in reading, he lowers the book and will not read any more. He never asks questions in class, even when he does not understand and is invited to ask for an explanation. On the other hand, he laughs with delight when others, especially the white, makes a mistake (stumbles, falls down, does not know how to tie a hammock, etc.).

They are haughty about their own qualities and are pleased when they are praised. Even with their deep-rooted beliefs, they readily assimilate our civilization in its material elements, and even when they return to their maloca they imitate what they saw the civilized do. Deep within them they attribute the superiority of the latter to the resources that the Indian does not have at his disposal and "because they have learned from others." These are the two reasons (so they think) that they cannot accomplish everything that the civilized make, be it even an electric generator, a motor for boats, or an airplane.

Deep within them there seems to be rooted the conviction that the civilized is the one who requires them, since he came as far as their lands; and they do not require the /162/ civilized (35).

35. During the last war, the difficulties of supplying the missionary centers grew. One of the Superiors of the Mission thought it prudent to warn the natives that it was not the ill-will of the Missionaries, but the

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/footnote 35 cont./ difficulties of the epoch (lack of resources, of transportation, etc.) that inflicted want of some things that they had been receiving, for instance, salt. And he heard this comment from a tuxaua: -- "You, the whites, are the ones who are going to suffer with this; we do not miss them."

And similar thoughts are difficult to correct, because they neither accept nor follow the reasoning of the civilized. And, in reality, the white who travels through these regions cannot dispense with the Indian's work (to guide him, to row, to transport cargo, etc.). And since the period of the discoveries, and in a special way in these last years, traders go up to fetch Indians for the work on the seringals and piassava grounds of the lower Rio Negro or seringals of Colombia. Before the majestic and savage nature of these regions, it is natural that the civilized person feels and manifests a feeling of timidity and inadaptation, which will confirm the Indian in his conviction of his own superiority.

When he is transported to one of our cities, quite far from his tribal brothers and from his native river, this same feeling of inadaptation and timidity will, with greater facility, cause the Indian to attach himself, with faithfulness and perhaps true affection, to the civilized man with whom he lives and for whom he works.

829 The native who is educated in the Mission schools considers himself "white" and tries to imitate the civilized. They do not like us to call them "índios" (36);

36. The more civilized among them say at times: -- "I am not from the Uaupes," as equivalent to "I am not an Indian." They commonly reserve the name of Indian for those of the Makú tribe.

one must say: "your tribe," "your nation." There is in all of

/163 cont./

273 the odor from afar. In order to avoid reprimands, they hide the bottles on the bottom of the river, from where they remove them when they want to drink their alcoholic contents.

261 They are particularly gluttonous over sweets (39);

> 39. The tuxauas, povoado chiefs, themselves appeared satisfied with a piece of candy; and not infrequently even a candy ball is divided up, or it passes through more than one mouth. With some caramels and cigarettes, they considered themselves well paid for the work of letting themselves be measured.

they also appreciate salt very much, and even the bitter salt (sodium sulphate) itself, provided as a medicine. Salt is an article that they are always seeking.

32) /sic/ Ingenuity and cheerfulness.

• 157 Moreover he possesses an assemblage of natural virtues and enviable qualities. We have already indicated some; let us also point out others. Among the fine qualities of the native one notices his charming ingenuity. Simple, frank, even when he is telling the most disagreeable episodes, and he always does it with terms of the crudest realism. A strangely natural ingenuity in conversation and especially in composure, even when, judging by the previous facts, one is certain that it covers malice.

He is a cheerful individual. He laughs with the greatest of ease, and for any reason whatsoever he bursts out in great, prolonged, and typical hearty laughs. The laugh is not only a response to the ridiculous or to the humorous, but to every pleasant surprise (40).

> 40. An Indian woman, questioned about the reason for so many and such prolonged laughs, explained that it was because they loosen the

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/footnote 40 cont./ cigarette smoke over the several parts of the body. It seems to be a common custom when the woman is lying in the hammock to rest during the day.

Long before daybreak, from three or four o'clock in the morning, laughs can be heard in the maloca, and until ten or eleven at night. They are a happy race; in their /164/ maloca one can hear much laughter and almost no crying. The children themselves [797] cry less than their little brothers of civilization (41):

41. In the children taken into the Mission boarding schools, and even in the small children who are sons and daughters of alumni and raised in the shadow of the Missions, one observes with more frequency and for a longer time habitual crying and shrieking.

crying that lasts a few moments.

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23) Stoicism.

The Indian is an absolutely perfect type of the stoic and greatly surpasses the ancient Greek philosophers. Man of the present, the future does not worry him. He does not save for tomorrow; he trusts that tomorrow nature will be as favorable to him or more so than today, and he will also work tomorrow. In privation he knows how to suffer hunger with serene tranquility. He does not even think about future pain. The secret of his tranquility and constant good humor rests on this state of mind. As for the rest, he easily endures suffering; he will not moan, however intense his pains may be (42).

42. During our frequent visits to the malocas and to the native povoados, many times, with our admiration, we have found individuals, not only adults, but also children, enduring

/292 cont./

515 They are ignorant of the use of handkerchiefs, cleaning the nose with the fingers, which afterwards are rubbed against some part of the body.

[854] The mother, or another woman, with her own hands, attends to the cleaning of her baby, and afterwards, in order to clean herself, is satisfied with shaking her hand to one side and rubbing it on the ground or against some plant.

3. The arts.

• 157 In the complex of works that the forest dwellers execute, they not only reveal splendid aptitudes, rare ability, and other qualities already mentioned elsewhere, but also particular artistic tendencies which are begging our civilization for more opportunities to develop (47).

[857] 47. With a knife improvised out of a piece of the metallic binding that goes around the crates of merchandise, the child produces canoes, and now even small airplanes, in wood.

The house that he builds, with all its furnishings, -- stools, ceramics, woven goods, canoes, weapons, hunting and fishing gear, baskets, -- reveal, besides the stability and sturdiness required for the purpose for which they are intended, an over-all harmony, a proportion of the parts, a finish in the details, which give a pleasing impression. In all there is revealed a notable artistic sense which should be considered in detail in its threefold manifestation: woven products, designs, music.

a) Woven products.

286 Among the works of weaving, we have already called to mind the nets /Port. rede, net, hammock/ for sleeping and for fishing. But particularly in the rede batida /beaten hammock/ (which seems to be of European origin) and in the puericueio /a covering that hangs from the waist/, Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro (see below - d (1)), the native woman shows her artistic taste and skill. In the Yaxkẽ

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142 oped: heads of the brachycephalic type; though I have noticed cases of extreme dolichocephalic variations. Teeth are generally poor.

147 Dr. Rice also commented on the capacity of the Cubeo Indians for great exertion on a minimum of food and rest. I can corroborate this judgment. I accompanied Indians on canoe trips when we paddled for as long as 17 consecutive hours with little rest or nourishment other than a handful of manioc meal in water. There was usually no urgent necessity for such exertion or privation. The Indians customarily eat lightly when traveling, and if there is any chance of reaching home rather than camping out or imposing upon the hospitality of another sib they prefer to keep going. However, it was not unusual for strong young men to topple from their canoes in a dead faint upon reaching home. Revived by the river they scrambled ashore, secured the canoe, and entered the house with the appropriate vigorous air, effectively concealing their acute fatigue. It is in fact characteristic of the Cubeo to make light of their accomplishments and not to yield readily to physical weakness.

[484] [261] [157]

114 Ethnographically, the Northwest Amazon was first fully brought to light by Dr. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, ethnographer and museum collector. Koch-Grünberg's systematic survey of the region at the turn of the century covered all main tribes and their settlements along the principal rivers. He spent many weeks on the Cuduiarí among the *Hehénewa* sibs of the Cubeo, and ascended the Cuduiarí to the limits of its habitation (1909). His published reports are invaluable even though he never stayed long enough in one place to get a deep grasp of the culture. He was, however, an excellent observer and reported fully on language, custom, and material culture. I did not read Koch-Grünberg before going to the field so that my observations are totally independent. It is a source of satisfaction, therefore, that our observations agree closely on most details. Koch-Grünberg's information was deficient on social structure and ceremonial patterns. It is in these two respects that my study represents a carrying forward of the work he so ably began. I have drawn freely upon his published works to fill in gaps in my own information on the Cubeo and of course for the rich data on surrounding Tucanoan, Arawakan, and Cariban tribes. His was the pioneering survey of the entire region, whereas mine is a relatively limited study of a single community. Koch-Grünberg died among the Indians of the Northwest Amazon in 1924, his ethnographic work prematurely cut off.

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The first scientific observer to report on the Indians of the Vaupés was Alfred Russell Wallace (1870), who was there in 1853. While his interests were mainly those of the naturalist, he found Indian life to

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Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they entertain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or encouraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one requirement of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new maloca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations. At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transitional period when the community is actually working both clearings. The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old *chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some 15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again. Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiarí and the Querarí. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong occupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Giacone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (referring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*nekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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622 692 No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

622 614 574 273 156 Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib [554] is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kendmi upókü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that [47] their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

622 614 571 578 156 The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed [157] about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

622 648 156 The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their [614] forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

600 There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urúhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtually impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the